the difficulty is not to find people for the land but to find land for the people. With the very limited area we have, the only possibility is to throw open forest reserves wherever such reservations are not absolutely necessary, or are not profitable or are truly valueless to the Forest Department. This is the course we are steadily pursuing and any such proposition as the Land Colonisation Scheme will, I think, prove a dead letter.

You referred to the Koni settlement as a land colonisation scheme. There you are mistaken. The Koni farms are nothing but places upon which middle class boys who are trained at the Alwaye Agricultural School are settled and money advanced to them so that they can start cultivation themselves—not cultivation by Pulayas or Parayas as they do here but cultivation by these boys themselves. They are drawn from all castes—Nairs, Syrian Christians—there is, I believe a Nambiar, and one or two other castes who are actually cultivating the soil. That is not colonisation of the land but diverting middle class people from clerical or professional occupations for which they have been yearning and directing them to the very useful task of working on these farms and becoming small proprietors.

MEMBER : I only pray for the extension of that.

DEWAN : We will extend it through more agricultural schools.

You referred to the fact that the duties of the Director of Industries have been tacked on to those of the Director of Geology. This is the first I have heard of that arrangement. In fact I can assure you that there is no such appointment as the Director of Geology. If you went through the pages of the Civil List, you will find that no Director of Geology exists. The Industries Department is doing its best but it is a very up-hill game. I for one will not launch out into large schemes of industries before the country becomes industrially minded.

192. The political life of the country.

MR. JOSEPH MALIAKAL (*Member, Nominated*) said that the political atmosphere of the country twenty-five years ago was just the opposite of what it was at the present time. Then there was complete harmony prevailing among the various communities. But with the spread of the present system of education a rush for Government appointments set in and with that originated discord among the people. The first feelings of dislike were roused against the foreign Brahmins who, it was suspected, were appropriating all the appointments for themselves. The next turn was that of the Nayars. All the other communities thought that the Nayars were having an unfair share of the appointments. Then came the turn of the Christians. Ezhavas and Muslims thought that the Christians were getting a greater share of the

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

appointments than was due to them. Among Christians themselves one section became jealous of the other. This ill-feeling of community against community and section against section gradually went beyond the sphere of politics and vitiated their whole life.

Different suggestions were made by different persons for remedying the situation. But not one solution could be discovered which was acceptable to every one concerned. Of course the position of Government as an arbiter among the various warring communities was a very delicate one. They were trying to please all the parties by saying that they would be fair to all. But there was no use their fighting shy of the situation in this manner. They should lay down in definite and unmistakable terms the policy, whatever it was, which they proposed to follow in this matter.

DEWAN'S REPLY: Mr. Joseph Maliakal, you diagnosed the situation in Travancore with great correctness; but a diagnosis unfortunately is not of much value in itself. So you promptly ask the Government to do the cure, while you yourself will see to the diagnosis. This is a matter in which the disease is of somewhat long standing and as you always know ailments that have taken possession of one and have become almost chronic take a long time to cure; and the course of treatment must be a slow one of necessity. Still, you will realise that the process of administering small curative doses is proceeding slowly but unobtrusively, but is still proceeding, and I hope in a few years this curse of the country will be cured. I think that covers practically the whole spirit of your speech.

I shall now reply to the gentlmen who spoke on the subject of the reform, which is the term they used, of the Assembly. I told you last year at some length what my own views were on the subject And as I there mentioned to you, I have studied the whole question and had certain plans before me and formulated a rough scheme when I suddenly discovered that this is the twenty-fifth year of the Assembly. I felt it would have been a pity to rob the Assembly of the privilege of celebrating its Silver Jubilee: and I am not sorry that I have laid aside the question of re-constitution, since all of us now have the privilege of the presence of the honoured guest of the State who called this Assembly into being. (*Cheers.*) We shall now have to take up for serious consideration the manner in which the Assembly's desire can be fulfilled. As I gauge the situation, that desire is this: the Assembly wishes to do things, to achieve things and not merely to represent things. Personally, I consider this Assembly to be of extreme value. It is the true embodiment of the direct relations between the administrators and the people of the country; it is the daily contact extending over many days once every year when the people are able to come and lay bare their wants and needs before the Dewan and of being sure of receiving a sympathetic disposal of their representations. As I told you in my

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

Address at the opening of the Assembly this year, "the Assembly has stood the test of a quarter of a century; and I for one devoutly hope that it will never lose the characteristics which have made it so valuable in the past". We must, therefore, stop to pause and give deep thought to the question whether we want a change, whether having lived for twenty-five years and achieved so much we should not continue to exercise that influence for the good of the country for another twenty-five years. After all twenty-five years is a very brief span in the life of a constitutional body. Still if it is the general wish of the country that some change should be effected and that a revised constitution should be drawn up, the question will be taken up and examined.

I now turn to the larger question of responsible Government upon which so many of you have dwelt. To begin with, let us see what the position of the Government of Travancore is at present. It is not for me to go into the history of the vicissitudes of the democratic character of the Government of Travancore. I have heard it said that Sri Parasurama set up a democratic government in Kerala. I should not be surprised if the supporters of that theory find it rather difficult to produce positive proofs. However, I have not the slightest doubt that forms of self-government did exist all over Kerala and I know that the spirit of democracy is still in the people—very much so indeed. As regards the form of Government here, I do not think I can do better than read out what the late Sir Rajagopalachari placed on record in a signed article* published a few years ago. He said:

"I turn next to the executive government of the country. That government is vested in the Dewan. Mr. Parameswaran Pillai gives an interesting account of the development of the Dewanship. He says that 'the Dewan influences and shapes action in all matters relating to the Government and he takes upon himself complete responsibility for all measures during his tenure of office.' I may be permitted not only to endorse this view but to amplify it somewhat. It has been the tradition of Travancore for well over half a century that the Maharaja enacts no law, makes no public appointment, sanctions no public expenditure, except on the specific recommendation of the Dewan. This was my experience during my tenure of office for about 7 years. It was also the experience of my predecessors with whom I have had occasion to converse on the subject. And I believe the practice has continued since I left. The establishment of this important convention is due to the present Ruler and his two immediate predecessors. It has to be recognised that with the government of the country centred in a single officer and that with such large powers, occasional abuse is inevitable; and congestion of work occurs with increasing frequency; and the time no doubt is bound to come when the government will vest not in a single individual but in an Executive Council presided over by the

* Review, published in the "Hindu" of Madras, dated 14-12-1922 of the "The Travancore constitution: A study."

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

Dewan; and it will be a great advantage for the working of such a body that complete ministerial responsibility for all acts of government had already been established. The term 'ministerial responsibility' is of course a misnomer just now, as the Chief Minister owes no responsibility to the Legislature; but that responsibility also is bound to come. All that should, however, be essentially an affair of *development*. Those who say that at one stroke it should be laid down that the government of the country should be placed in the hands of Ministers wholly responsible to the Council, are visionaries who do more to retard the consummation they ask for than to facilitate it."

The late Sir Rajagopalachari, as you all know, was a very shrewd observer with a strong practical turn of mind and the article, from which I have quoted, is of importance to Travancore. Sir Rajagopalachari has, in my opinion, stated the position very correctly in regard to the constitutional position in Travancore and his conclusion was that the time is not yet ripe for the responsibility of the minister to be rendered to a representative body and not to the Ruler. That cannot be for at least some time. It is a matter for development, and development, as you know, must be slow if the results to be secured are to be lasting.

MR. K. C. EAPEN (*Member, Mercantile and Trading Classes, Trivandrum*) then addressed Mr. V. P. Madhava Rao as follows:— "On behalf of the members of this Asssembly and therefore of the people of Travancore, I beg leave to convey to you, Sir, who is looked upon as the father of this Assembly, our sincere feeling of devotion and attachment for the great benefits you have conferred on the people of the State, especially by the institution of this representative Assembly. It will be cruel on my part to detain the members of the Assembly, and particularly the esteemed President, for any length of time; but we shall be wanting in courtesy if we do not express to you the genuine feelings of cordiality that still exist in us to a foreign Dewan of Travancore who is never looked upon as a foreigner, but who is looked upon as a Travancorean by all for the great benefits he has conferred upon Travancore. Allow me, Sir, also to apologise if for any difference of opinion some of us have criticised the actions of the Dewan; it is not in the spirit of carping criticism; it is only because of some aspirations that have come up in modern times. If any evidence is wanted, the cordial invitation that was extended to you and your inspiring presence to-night is undoubted testimony. (*Applause*). It so happened that subjects were grouped together at the end of the list and members had to speak about them and sometimes criticise the actions of the Government. I hope you will accept that apology. In spite of our differences with regard to the distribution of appointments and in spite of the sad pictures that may be painted when we are in the fighting line, I can assure you, Sir, of two things which you may be jealous of and which you may be anxious of *viz.*, our loyalty to the Royal House quite unimpaired and also our loyalty to the Assembly of which you are the father. I can assure you of our genuine loyalty to both of these. Whether this Assembly is reformed or not, all of us who

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are in this Assembly will honestly try to maintain the true traditions of the Assembly and carry on the work of that Assembly for ever. I assure you, Sir, of our gratitude for your inspiring presence on this occasion."

Turning to the Dewan, the speaker continued:—I also beg to assure you, Sir, of the sincere thanks of all of us for your courtesy, kindness and patient hearing throughout the deliberations of this Jubilee Session of the Assembly. In spite of difficulties, the Jubilee Session of the Assembly will be marked by signal approval of the actions of the Government. If we behaved well, I think we deserve greater confidence and we hope something tangible will be done this year especially when we have the blessing of the benefactor of this Assembly. (*Applause.*) I also assure you of our thanks for your uniform kindness and courtesy. We hope you will give a sympathetic consideration to all of our representations."

MR. K. GOVINDA PILLAI (*Member, Kottayam Taluk, Group II*): ഈ രാജ്യത്തെ സകലജാതിമതസ്ഥന്മാരായ പ്രജകളേയും ഒരുപോലെ പരിപാലിക്കുന്ന വിശാലമനസ്കയായ മഹാറാണി റീജൻറ് തിരുമനസ്സിലെ നേക്കും മഹാരാജാവു തിരുമനസ്സിലെനേക്കും ഞങ്ങൾക്കുള്ള അപാരമായ രാജഭക്തിയെ അവിടത്തേയും മഹാരാജാവു തിരുമനസ്സിനേയും അവിടന്ന തിരുമനസ്സറിയിക്കണമെന്ന ആദ്യമായി പ്രസ്താവിച്ച കൊള്ളുന്നു. ജാതകത്തിൽ നല്ലസ്ഥാനത്തു ഗുരു നിന്നാൽ അവൾക്കു ശുഭമായ ഫലങ്ങൾ വരുമെന്ന പറഞ്ഞു കേട്ടിട്ടുണ്ട്. അതുപോലെ ഇന്ന നമ്മുടെ മദ്ധ്യത്തിൽ വന്നിരിക്കുന്ന ഈപൂജ്യപാദർ നിശ്ചയമായിട്ടും രാജ്യകാര്യങ്ങളിലെന്നല്ല ഐഹികമായും പാരത്രികമായും ഉള്ള കാര്യങ്ങളിൽ ഗുരുതന്നെയാണ്. അദ്ദേഹം മുന്നസംസ്ഥാനത്തെക്കു മാത്രമല്ല ഗുരുഭൂതൻ ലോകംഒട്ടുക്കു ഗുരുഭൂതനാണ്. അദ്ദേഹത്തിന്റെ അനുഗ്രഹത്തിന്റെ മാഹാത്മ്യത്താൽ ശ്രീമൂലം തിരുനാൾ മഹാരാജാവു തിരുമനസ്സിലെ തിരുവുള്ളത്തോട്ടുകൂടി സ്ഥാപിച്ച തന്ന ഒരു കല്പകവൃക്ഷം (S. M. P. A.) ഉത്തരോത്തരം വർദ്ധിച്ചു തന്നെ വരുന്നു. അങ്ങനെയുള്ള ഒരു മഹാപുരുഷൻ മേൽക്കു മേൽ ആരോഗ്യത്തോടും ദീർഘായുസ്സായിട്ടും ഇരിക്കുന്നതിനു ഒരംശപ്രാർത്ഥിച്ചു കൊള്ളുന്നു. (ഹസ്തതാഡനം).

മൂന്നാമതായി ഒരു സംഗതിമാത്രമേ പറയാനുള്ളു. അവിടന്ന മനുഷ്യസാധാരണമായ ചില സുഖക്കേടുകൾക്കു വശംവദനായിരുന്നിട്ടും ഞങ്ങളുടെ അപേക്ഷയെ തള്ളിക്കളയാതെ ഇവിടെ വന്നിരുന്ന ക്ഷമാപൂർവ്വം ഞങ്ങൾ ചെയ്ത നിവേദനങ്ങളെ കേട്ട അനുകമ്പാപൂർവ്വമായ മറുപടികളും തന്ന കൊണ്ടിരിക്കുന്നത മാത്രമല്ല, ജനങ്ങൾക്കു ശുഭോദർക്ക

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

മായ ഭരണം നടത്തിവരുന്ന ഒരു മന്ത്രിസഭയുടെ നിലയിൽ പെരുമാറുന്നതുകൊണ്ടു അവിടത്തെ ഭരണം നീണ്ടു നില്ക്കുന്നതിനു ഞങ്ങൾ പ്രാർത്ഥിച്ചു കൊള്ളുന്നു.

ഒരു സഭയെ അതിന്റെ ജനയിതാവായ ഇന്നിവിടെ സന്നിഹിതനായിരിക്കുന്ന മഹാപുരുഷന്റെ അഭിപ്രായംകൂടി അറിഞ്ഞു വേണ്ട വിധം പരിഷ്കരിച്ചു തരണമെന്നുള്ളതാണു് എനിക്കവസാനമായിട്ടു പറയാനുള്ളതു്.

MR. NAGOOR MEERA MEERANAN MEERA ROWTHER (*Member, Nominated*): രണ്ടു സമുദായത്തിലെ പ്രതിനിധികൾ ബഹുമാനപ്പെട്ട രാജകുടുംബത്തെപ്പറ്റി പ്രസ്താവിച്ചു സ്ഥിതിക്കു തിരുവിതാംകൂറിലെ മുസ്ലീം സമുദായത്തിന്റെ കൃതജ്ഞതയേയും ഞാൻ ഇവിടെ പ്രസ്താവിക്കേണ്ട ആവശ്യമുണ്ടു്. ആദ്യമായി ശ്രീമൂലം തിരുനാൾ മഹാരാജാവു തിരുമേനി സ്വർഗ്ഗത്തിൽ ഇരുന്നു പ്രശോഭിക്കുന്നതിനു സർവ്വശക്തനായ ഈശ്വരനോടു പ്രാർത്ഥിച്ചുകൊള്ളുന്നു. ഈ സഭാ സ്ഥാപകനായ വി. പി. മാധവറാവു അവർകൾ ഒരു ഭരണാധികാരത്തെ യോഗമായ ഈ അവസരത്തിൽവന്നു് ഈ സഭയെ അലങ്കരിച്ചിരിക്കുന്നതു നമുക്കെല്ലാവർക്കും ആനന്ദപ്രദമാണു്. അദ്ദേഹത്തിനു് ദീർഘായുസ്സു് നൽകുന്നതിനു് ഈശ്വരനോടു പ്രാർത്ഥിച്ചുകൊള്ളുന്നു. ഇവിടെ മുമ്പു ചീഫ് സിക്രട്ടറിയായിരുന്ന സായിപ്പിന്റെ പുത്രനെതന്നെ ഈ രാജ്യത്തെ ദിവാൻജിയായിട്ടു ലഭിച്ചതിൽ ഈ രാജ്യവാസികൾ അതിയായി സന്തോഷിക്കയും അദ്ദേഹം വളരെകാലം ഈ രാജ്യം ഭരിച്ചുകാണണമെന്നു ഈശ്വരനോടു പ്രാർത്ഥിക്കയും ചെയ്യുകൊള്ളുന്നു. അന്നദാതാവായ റീജൻറു തിരുമേനിക്കും മഹാരാജാവു തിരുമനസ്സിനും ദീർഘായുസ്സു നൽകട്ടെ എന്നും ഈശ്വരനോടു പ്രാർത്ഥിക്കുന്നു.

MR. N. JOHN JOSEPH (*Member, Nominated*): ഈ പ്രജാസഭയുടെ ഒരു ഭരണയോഗത്തിൽ അതിന്റെ ജനയിതാവുസന്നിഹിതനായിരിക്കുന്ന അവസ്ഥ ഓർക്കുമ്പോൾ ഞങ്ങൾക്കതിയായ സന്തോഷമുണ്ടു്. അവിടന്നു പ്രസിദ്ധപ്പെടുത്തീട്ടുള്ള രാജകീയ വിളംബരമനുസരിച്ചു ഞങ്ങൾക്കു ലഭിച്ചിട്ടുള്ള പ്രജാസഭമൂലം സാമുദായികമായ പല സംഗതികൾക്കും അഭിവൃദ്ധിയുണ്ടായിട്ടുണ്ടെന്നുള്ളതോർക്കുമ്പോൾ അവിടത്തെ അറിവും ദീർഘദൃഷ്ടിയും എത്രത്തോളമുണ്ടെന്നു പറഞ്ഞറിയിക്കേണ്ട ആവശ്യമില്ല. രാജതലൂബിലി അവസരത്തിൽ അവിടന്നു ഇവിടെ സന്നിഹിതനായി കാണുന്നതിൽ ഞങ്ങൾക്കതിയായ സന്തോഷമുണ്ടു്. ഞങ്ങൾ വാസ്തവത്തിൽ

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അധ്യക്ഷന്മാരാണ്. ഞങ്ങളുടെ സങ്കടങ്ങളെ ആലോചിച്ചു നോക്കുമ്പോൾ ഇതു ഞങ്ങൾക്കു പ്രത്യേകമായി നൽകീട്ടുള്ള ഒരു സഭയാണെന്നു തന്നെ തോന്നിപ്പോകുന്നു. അവിടന്നു രജതജൂബിലി മാത്രമല്ല വജ്ര ജൂബിലിക്കുകൂടി സന്നിഹിതനാകുന്നതിനു ജഗദീശ്വരൻ അനുഗ്രഹിക്കുമാറാകട്ടെ എന്നു ഈ രാജ്യത്തെ ൪൦ ലക്ഷം ജനങ്ങളുടെ നാമത്തിൽ ഞാൻ പ്രാർത്ഥിച്ചുകൊള്ളുന്നു.

MR. AYYAN KALI (*Member, Nominated*): അവിടന്നു പ്രജാസഭ ആരംഭിച്ചു മഹാനാണ്. ഇതിന്റെ ൫൭ വർഷം കഴിഞ്ഞ ജൂബലിക്കു സന്നിഹിതനായിരിക്കുന്നതിൽ ഞങ്ങൾക്കു സന്തോഷമുണ്ട്.

The Assembly was prorogued at 5-45 P. M.

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